

Message Text

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17

ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 708

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATTO 1509

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO XG

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN CP CONFERENCE

REF: BUCHAREST 1064

1. DURING MARCH 18 POLADS DISCUSSION ON POSSIBLE TIMING OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) CONFERENCE ,US REP (LEDOGAR) DREW ON USEFUL REFTEL. CANADIAN REP (FOWELL) SAID CANADIAN CONFIDENTIAL

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EMBASSY BUDAPEST HAD REPORTED THAT ONLY 16 OF 28 CPS THAT PARTICIPATED IN BUDAPEST PREPARATORY MEETING ATTENDED SUBSEQUENT WORKING GROUP MEETING IN BERLIN.

2. FRG REP (CITRON) DISTRIBUTED FOLLOWING PAPER CONTAINING FRG
VIEWS ON POSSIBLE TIMING AND SUBSTANCE OF FUTURE CP CONFERENCE.

BEGIN TEXT:

CONTACTS BETWEEN GERMAN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND
MEMBERS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS PARTIES HAVE
RESULTED IN THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

I

1. THE CONFERENCE WILL UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE
END OF CSCE. OCTOBER 1975 HAD BEEN ENVISAGED AS THE NEW DATE. THIS
WOULD BE PRECEDED BY FURTHER PRELIMINARY CONFERENCES ALONG THE
LINES OF THOSE HELD IN WARSAW AND BUDAPEST. MEETINGS OF THE
DRAFTING GROUP WERE ALSO PLANNED. THE POSSIBLE PLACES FOR ADDIT-
IONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCES WERE ROME, VIENNA OR GENEVA, THIS
LAST PLACE HAVING BEEN DESIGNATED AS A CHALLENGE TO CSCE. THE
CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE
IN ROME IN MARCH WOULD OFFER FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR BI AND
MULTILATERAL CONTACTS. IT WAS THUS OF MORE THAN NATIONAL IMPOR-
TANCE FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES.

2. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE EAST-BERLIN CONFERENCE WENT BY NO
MEANS SMOOTHLY, AS COULD BE SEEN FROM THE NUMEROUS BILATERAL
CONTACTS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE AT THE PRESENT TIME. IT WAS NOT
YET CERTAIN IN WHAT WAY THE FINAL DOCUMENT WOULD DEAL
WITH THE DIFFICULTIES EXISTING BETWEEN THE GREAT WEST
EUROPEAN PARTIES AND THE GOVERNING PARTIES.

A. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER COMECON COUNTRIES ATTACHED
IMPORTANCE TO EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPED
INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. THEY WERE THEREFORE INTER-
ESTED IN STABLE CONDITIONS IN THESE COUNTRIES. THE SOVIET
UNION HAD NEITHER WANTED MITTERAND AS THE FRENCH PRESIDENT,
NOR DID IT WANT BERLINGUER AS THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY. THIS
CONSTITUTED AN INSOLUBLE DIFFICULTY WITH THE GREAT WESTERN
EUROPEAN PARTIES WHICH INTENDED TO CHANGE THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES.
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THIS CONFLICT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN FULL DETAIL DURING THE
POLEMICS BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS ABOUT
A YEAR AGO.

B. THE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES HAD ALSO ABANDONED THE LENINIST
PRINCIPLE OF THE EXCLUSIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.
THEY WERE FULLY AWARE THAT THEY COULD ONLY SHARE IN GOVERN-
MENTAL RESPONSIBILITY IF THEY ENTERED INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH
OTHER PROGRESSIVE PARTIES. THE ITALIAN TERM FOR THIS WAS THE
"COMPROMESSO STORICO", WHILE THE FRENCH HAD DEVELOPED THE
POPULAR FRONT WITH THE SOCIALISTS AND THE SPANIARDS THE
ALLIANCE WITH THE SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN PARTIES. IN ALL
THESE ALLIANCES, THE COMMUNISTS COULD- AND WANTED TO - PLAY
ONLY THE ROLE OF EQUAL PARTNERS.

C. FINALLY, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF ITALY, SPAIN AND ALSO FRANCE HAD DEvised THEIR OWN MODEL OF SOCIALISM WHICH BY NO MEANS PROVIDED FOR THE RADICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ALL MEANS OF PRODUCTION BUT RATHER ATTEMPTED TO ACHIEVE A HIGHER DEGREE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY CARRYING OUT REFORMS WITHIN THE EXISTING STRUCTURES. THEIR SOCIALISM WAS OF A PLURALIST NATURE.

3. THE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE URGING THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE. AT BEST, THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A COMPROMISE. IF THE ORTHODOX PARTIES SHOULD NOT TAKE THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN PARTIES INTO CONSIDERATION OR BE UNWILLING TO AGREE TO A COMPROMISE, THIS WOULD HAVE THE RESULT THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENT WOULD NOT BE SIGNED BY ALL PARTIES.

II

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN A GERMAN OFFICIAL IN BELGRADE AND MR. DOLANCE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY, REVEALED THAT EFFORTS " TO MAKE THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES TOE THE MOSCOW LINE" HAVE NOT YET BEEN GIVEN UP. DOLANCE EMPHASIZED THAT THE YUGOSLAV PARTY WOULD NEVER SUBMIT TO SUCH EFFORTS. THE YUGOSLAV POSITION WAS ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGED. YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT AGREE TO ANY DECISIONS OR SIGN DOCUMENTS WHICH ARE IN CONFLICT WITH ITS PRINCIPLES. DOLANCE SAID " IF YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE, THIS WOULD NOT HURT US." END TEXT. BRUCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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